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A N

Historical View
OF THE
PRINCIPLES, CHARACTERS,
PERSONS, &c.
OF THE
POLITICAL WRITERS
IN
Great-Britain,

V I Z.

Mr. P-----y,		D. of A-----IE,
Lord C-----,		Mr. S-----,
Lord B-----,		Ec. Ec. Ec.

A L S O

The NAMES and CHARACTERS of the AU-
THORS of the *Craftsman*, *Common-Sense*,
Champion, *English-Man's Evening-Post*,
Daily-Gazetteer, &c.

I N A

LETTER to Monsieur M-----s, from Mon-
sieur B-----s, Private Agent these Twen-
ty Years past from the C---t of F-----ce, in
England.

Translated from the FRENCH.

L O N D O N,

Printed for W. WEBB, near St. Paul's. 1740.





A N
 HISTORICAL VIEW
 OF THE
CHARACTERS
 OF THE

Writings, Writers, and Heads of the
 Opposition to the Government of
Great Britain, &c.

SIR,

YOU judge rightly, that, in order to
 form a true Notion of the Parties in
 this Nation, it is necessary that you
 should be informed and made ac-
 quainted not only with the Charac-
 ters of the Writings for and against the Govern-
 ment, but of the Writers themselves. However,
 that you may not ascribe to these Writings an In-
 fluence

fluence which they really have not, it is necessary that I should premise somewhat with regard to the general State of Politicks in this Nation, before I enter upon any of the Particulars I have to communicate.

You are to know therefore, *Sir*, that in *England* it is Presumption enough, that a Man is a Man of Honour and Sense if he opposes the Court. This opens the Way for him into the Affections of the People; and the same Person whom they before (while perhaps he was deep in the Measures of the Ministry) look'd upon with Aversion, or, at least, a cold Indifference, becomes then the Darling, and is regarded with Affection, nay, with Rapture. I can give many Instances, now alive, of this undiscerning Partiality; one or two may be sufficient.

Mt. P---y, who has been for some Years the Idol of a Party, who reckon on their Side all the Men of Character, Estate, and Honesty in the Nation, while he was in Post, while he shared in what he has since so often called the Spoils of the Publick, entred as deep into the Measures of the then *M---ry*, as ever *Sir R---t W---le* did. He was as great an Advocate for the Prerogative; he spoke as strongly for the Standing Army, and for a Peace with *Spain*, as he has since done for the Privilege of the Subject, for the Freedom of his Country, and for the Dignity of *Great Britain*. Nay, to sum up the Proofs of his Zeal in one Word, he was Chairman of that Committee which brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties against the Bishop of *Rocheſter*; and the principal Man in the *H--- of C-----ns* who managed the violent Proceedings against that unfortunate Prelate.

Prelate. When he struck out from the Court, it was on all Hands agreed, that his Opposition proceeded from no other Motive than Ambition and Envy, in reflecting that he should be only the second Man in the A----st-----n; and even the Party which he has since espoused looked upon him with Aversion and Distrust. I would, however, observe, that I believe the frequent Disappointments and Slights he has since met with, may have now rendred him absolutely irreconcilable to the present M-----ry, while Sir R-----t W----- is at the Head of it: But my own private Opinion is, That were he at the Head of another, he would pursue as arbitrary, and more violent Measures than Sir R-----t does now.

My L--d C-----, while he was a Minister, was as much the Object of National Aversion as any Minister that is now in the Management of Affairs. He was not, while he was a Minister, so much as taken Notice of for any of those fine Parts for which he is admired as a Patriot: Only he retain'd the Vehemence of Speech in favour of the Measures of the Ministry, which he has since adapted against them: And the latter Part of his Life seems to be a continual Exercise in answering the Doctrine, Maxims and Facts which he laid down at his first setting out into the World. But notwithstanding the Figure he makes in the Opposition, he is, by no means, popular in the Nation. A rare and uncommon Instance! but owing to a general Opinion that prevails, which is, that his L----p is an Enemy to the Person, but not to the Power of the Minister.

My Lord C-----, the finest Gentleman, in our Sense of the Word, that this Nation can boast of,
is

is no dangerous Man to any Party. His Life wants that Severity of Manners, and his Character that Dignity of Virtue which begets Esteem and Authority. His Speeches are admired, and his Wit is matchless ; but both have no other Effect but upon the Ear.

My L-----d B-----, who makes likewise a very great Figure in the Opposition, is of a Party whose avow'd Principles lead it to support the *reigning Power*. He has indeed, for the Convenience of Opposition, acted and spoken long against the M-----ry ; but it is universally known here, that the Principles upon which he pretends to act, are the farthest in the World from those which he really believes ; and the Interest, which he now affects to espouse, is destructive of that which he really wishes to see prosper. The Notoriety of this prevents his, and the Party he is of, from being any farther dangerous than their swelling the Minority in the H---- of P----s.

I now come to the greatest Character in the Opposition, which is that of the D--- of A----. This Nobleman is really popular ; he has the Hearts of many, and the Esteem of all ; yet he once went as great Lengths with the Court as any Man ever did. His Speeches in favour of Standing Armies, are the standing Arguments in favour of that Subject ; and the great Rise of the Fortune, both of him and his Friends, was owing to the Zeal for the most unpopular Measure, and the Measure which affords the Opposition the greatest Subject of Triumph, of all that the Ministry ever pursued, I mean that of the Excise. His Disgrace is generally ascrib'd to his immoderate Ambition,

tion, which must have been of great Disadvantage to him, were it not for the almost universal Opinion, that no Object of his Ambition can be beyond his Merit.

My L--d C-----, another Soldier in the Opposition, was long in a kind of political Purgatory betwixt the two Parties. He talk'd for the one, and voted for the other, till, at last, he was in Danger of being disown'd by both, and then he took to that which his private Connections and Friendships dictated him to espouse.

In the House of C-----ns I could produce many Instances of the same Nature, but, as it would swell this Letter to too great a Length, I shall omit them all but one or two. Sir W-----m W-----m, who now makes so great a Figure in the Opposition, was himself a Minister, and had the same Post of C-----r of the Ex-----r which Sir R-----t W-----le has now, at a Time when Measures were concerting for overthrowing that Constitution, he, of late, seems so strenuously to assert; and when the late King found Means of bringing over the leading Persons about the Court of B-----n to his Interests, the same Gentleman was embark'd in all the Schemes laid down for restoring the *Chevalier de St. George*, and was actually taken up for being concern'd in the Rebellion in 1715.

Mr. S-----, who is look'd upon as an Oracle of the Party in the Opposition, has discovered
many

* *The Author certainly means the Intrigues of Lewis XIV. towards the End of Queen Anne's Reign, to bring in the Pretender.*

many Symptoms that prove his Conduct not so much the Effect of Principle as Ambition. In short, Sir, after the narrowest Enquiry, I cannot find but one Person in the Opposition of any Character, who has continued firm to the Principles he first espoused. I don't speak of your young Persons, whose Characters are no other than what Clothes they wear, what Money they spend, or what Mistresses they keep. Such of these as are in the Opposition, are of too short a standing to deserve to be mentioned to you in any other Light. But I speak of your old staunch Gentlemen, who have formed Views in Life, and Principles in Government. Of these, as I was saying, one only has been consistent with himself, and that is Mr. S-----n. But then he stood alone for that very Reason, which Circumstance, I think' is sufficient to give you a just Idea of the Qualifications and Virtues of the others.

From what I have observed, Sir, I believe it will be as hard a Matter for you to give a pretty good Guess at the Strength and Views of the Opposition within Doors, as whatever is transacted in Parliament is called in this Country. You may perceive from that, that whatever Airs of Popularity and Probity these Gentlemen assume, their Interest among the People goes no farther than drinking their Healths, and quoting the smart Things they have said, but is utterly unable to form any Party which without Doors, could pretend to make any Opposition. In short, their Influence with the People is no more, nor indeed so much than what they who are now in, were they
out

out of Court, might command, and what every Set of Men, who are out of Favour with the Ministry, will here always have, I mean the Praises of the People : For, let their former Behaviour be never so unpopular, tho' they had before been the obsequious Slaves of a Court, and the zealous Advocates for Power ; yet the Moment that a Court discards, or Power frowns upon them, they that Instant become the Talk and Idols of the People. But my private Opinion is, that we never can expect any Service from their Conduct ; for it will be still a very hard Matter to induce the People of this Country to undertake any Thing against the Government, while the Government have the Parliament's Sanction for every Measure they pursue. I speak this by long Experience, and Study of the Genius and History of the *English* Nation ; but it will be more plain by the following Part of this Letter.

I am now come to the principal Part of what I intended to trouble you with, which is to give you an impartial, full Account of the Writings and Writers in the Opposition, and to remove one great Prejudice which was entertained in the Court of *France* when I left it ; that the Writings for and against the Government spoke the Sense, not only of the Heads of the Party, but of the People in general.

The *Craftsman*, which has been long the Oracle of the Party, was taken up upon the Footing of another Paper, which was entitled *The Country Gentleman*, and wrote by *Erasmus Philipps*, a Gentleman who might have made some Figure but for the following Accident ; Happening to

be pretty much in Debt, he came up to *London*, where he took Lodgings and lived privately on what he gained by the Paper I have already mention'd. But his Creditors, having Notice of the Place where he lodg'd, sent two Bayliffs to Arrest him. They took an Opportunity of getting into the House early in the Morning, and went up Stairs to the Bedchamber where our Author lay. They then, without any Ceremony, rush'd into his Room with a Design to seize him, but being alarm'd, and provided for these kind of Encounters, he snatch'd up a Pistol, and shot one of the Bayliffs dead on the Spot. Tho' this Action was not, by the Laws of *England*, punishable with Death; yet the Expences and Trouble attending a Prosecution was such, that he did not think fit to carry this Paper any longer on, and after the Publication of five or six Numbers, it was sunk into the *Craftsman*. You are here to consider, that these Weekly Political Papers were then pretty unusual in *England*. Towards the latter End of Queen *Anne's* Reign, indeed, some very considerable Writers had drawn their Pens on each Side of the Politicks that then divided the Nation, but these were asleep for some Years after the Accession of King *George*. A Printer, one *Mist*, by writing for one Party, however, gain'd a considerable Name, and many Readers, among that Party, tho' he had not one Qualification, either as an Author or a Man, to recommend him. But in this Country it is enough for a Man, if he gets himself talk'd of, to succeed. In that Event if Money is the End, as you shall see by and by that it is, of all the political Writers that have made so great a Noise for

for some time past here, he is sure to pick up Money, not only from his Admirers, but even from those who despise and hate him: For here Curiosity, which is the lowest Principle of all Enquiry, is at the same time the strongest; and as soon as an Author, or a Professor of any Art, comes to be publickly much talk'd of, Every-body's Curiosity is excited to know what is in him; and tho' perhaps they neither hope nor expect to find any thing extraordinary, yet still this is sufficient for the Purposes of the Author. We have many Instances of the *English* Partiality in favour of Impudence, and of Men of all Degrees railing Estates from the Follies, nay the Contempt, that others entertain for them. But to return: This *Mist* was a violent Bigot to the Nonjuring Party; he palliated, by the Help of some of the Heads of that Party, the most execrable Plots that were contriv'd against the Life of King *George I.* and he wrote against all the moderate wise Men of the Nation, as well as against every Author of Figure or Character who differed from him, with all the Rancour, Folly, and Ill-manners of an Enthusiast. In this he had the Assistance not only of those of his own Party, but likewise of the Auxiliaries of the Church of *Rome*; and by this Manner got a great many Readers among every degree of People. At last, he became considerable enough to be taken Notice of by the Government, and he was taken up by a Warrant from the Secretary of State: This serv'd to make him more considerable; and he was at last taken Notice of by the Parliament itself, committed close Prisoner, and treated with abundance of Rigour. This impos-

sible

lick Severity had that Effect: as to keep up the Spirit of a Party, that had otherwise dwindled of itself to nothing; and by the favourable Intention of the *English* Laws, *Mist* escaped with being an inconsiderable Loser, and a meritorious Sufferer. He was, it is true, Pillory'd, but this Punishment, to a Man who was looked upon as the Martyr of the Party, was rather a Reward, and the happiest thing that could have happened to him, by giving those of his Party an Opportunity of filling his Pockets, the only End he aim'd at; as his mounting the Pillory gave himself an Opportunity of representing his own, as the Case of every Subject in *Britain*.

I have dwelt longer upon this Fellow than he really deserves; but what you see here will serve very well to account for the great Success that the most wretched Performances, especially upon Politicks, meet with in this Country, if they have the good Fortune to be persecuted. The present Administration have avoided this Rock, and by that means render'd many Libels quite ineffectual, that must, under other more severe Administrations, have done considerable Execution. I am sorry that they have not been more jealous of their own Character, because I am sure nothing could have more effectually promoted the Interests of our King and Master; for it is certain, at the same time, that when the Authors or Printers of such Papers are severely prosecuted, unless something very flagrant (which was not the Case of *Mist*) is prov'd, it always breeds ill Blood among the People, and nothing is so necessary as that for advancing our Purpose.

Anq.

Another Writer at the same Time appeared, who had the good Fortune to draw upon him all the Scurrilities and Abuse that *Mist* could bestow. This was the Author of *Cato's Letters*, which were likewise published in a Journal. I don't meet with any Prosecution that was commenced against this Author; but I find that he wrote so freely as to occasion a Committee of the House of Commons to order him to attend them; but he prudently withdrew, and I believe the Thing was dropt. These Letters were at that Time supposed to be wrote by one G-----n, who is a *Scotsman*, and who has been Author of a great many other Performances. It has been since discovered, that he was assisted in writing them by Mr. *Trenchard*, a Man of severe Principles with regard to Liberty, and very much esteemed by Persons of Judgment and Sense: In short, he perhaps was the only Man in his Time, who, on political Subjects, wrote what he thought, and wrote it for no other Reason but because he thought it, and that it would be of Service for his Country to know it. These Letters, however, had a great Character, by their being more free from Party-Zeal and personal Reflections, than any other publick Writings that ever appeared. This Mr. G-----n has been very lucky in Life; from being no better than a common *Amanuensis* to Mr. *Trenchard*, he is now posselt of a handsome Fortune and a profitable Post; the first he had in a Legacy from a Person whom he never saw, for being the Author of a Book entitled, *The Independent Whig*, wrote against the high-flying Clergy in this Country. It is wrote in a lively
Man-

Manner, but there is very little new in the Subject, or the Arguments he has advanc'd. He was the Author likewise of a Translation of *Tacitus*, which has its Admirers, and which he dedicated to Sir *Robert Walpole*, who nobly rewarded him. But see, Sir, what the Effect of all these Rewards was; As soon as the Man got a Competency, he even quietly sat down, and troubled his Head no further about Politics or Religion; and every one of these Fellows who makes a Pother about either, would do the same, but that their Writings neither have Merit enough, to entitle the Writer to any higher Degree in Life but that of an Author, nor have the Author's Solidity enough of Brain to make themselves, in the least, serviceable to the Publick any other Way. I don't speak here of those of one Party more than another; the following is a remarkable Instance. One *Arnold*, who used to write the Paper called, *The free Briton*, in Defence of the Administration, possess'd a genteel Stile of Language, and a very copious Expression. He was young, and therefore was a little apt to overdo some Subjects which he took in Hand: However, had he not wrote for the Administration, he must have been thought a good Author; but, as he had a good deal of Levity in his Character, and very apt to write incorrectly, Sir R-----t ordered, that most of the Pieces of any Consequence that came from his Pen, should be revised by Mr. G-----n before they were put to Press. This was Provocation enough to a Man like A--d, who otherwise was full enough of himself; accordingly he took Pen in Hand, and went to Work

Work on a most virulent Paper against G---n, in which he represented him as an arrant Scoundrel, a Fellow of no Parts, no Parentage, and no Principle. He exposed the Inconsistency of his Writings, and lash'd him for being bought off by the Government, after he was engaged in a Paper that was wrote against them. This Letter, which perhaps was the most sprightly Letter that ever came from Mr. *Walsingham's* Pen, (for that was the Political Name he assum'd in all his Writings for the Court) was carefully convey'd to the Printer of *Fog's Journal*, the most violent Paper on the other Side, and printed the next *Saturday*. By what means it happen'd I don't know, whether by some of the Men knowing *Walsingham's* Hand, or, what is most likely, by a florid Vehemence of Stile that was peculiar to *Walsingham*; but it came so about, that G----n and his Friends suspected him to be the Author; and in order to be convinced, they applied to the Printer of *Fog's Journal*; the Printer very readily gave up the Copy from which it was compos'd, and it appeared that Mr. *Walsingham* had been so incautious as to suffer the very Copy he had wrote with his own Hand to go to Press. This Discovery was a little mortifying to *Walsingham*; but it appears it did him no Hurt, either with his Patron, or the World, who was pretty well satisfied with the Truth of what he had advanc'd. I have given you this small History, that you may see still more evidently, that the Writers of all Parties are, in their own Persons, a Set of very contemptible Fellows, following Party only as Hunger, Conveniency, or Ambition directs them: Their Writings are secretly despised by those very Persons

sons who affect to recommend them ; and embraced only by those who find they chime in with their favourite Views or Passions. But, of this you will by and by have stronger Proofs. But, to return to *Mist* whom we left sweating for the Faction.

He pursued his senseless Ravings with so little Discretion, that he was, at last, drawn in to print a Libel, which, in the Opinion of many, amounted to High Treason : Tho' the Author of that Libel was the late unhappy D--ke of *W----*, and, to avoid a Prosecution, the Event of which might have affected his Life, he and his Foreman thought fit to withdraw to *France*, where he liv'd miserably, in Want of all the Necessaries of Life ; despised even by those who had set him to work. In the mean Time his Paper was continued, under the Title of *Fog's Weekly Journal*, by one *M-----y* an *Irish Roman-Catholick*, and likewise a Nonjuring Counsellor at Law ; but, having published it some Time, Mr. *Mist*, who was their Paymaster, thought fit to make Application to the Government, for Leave to return Home ; which was granted, upon Condition, That he should no longer meddle with Politicks. You may ask, How *Mist* could support these Understrappers, when he could not support himself ? The Property of the Paper was still *Mist's*, and they carrying it on, had all the Profits, without letting the poor Devil have one Shilling : However, he being Proprietor, he put a Stop to any more political Subjects being handled in it ; for which he was pelted by the *Craftsman* : But *Mist*, whose Eyes were now opened, and who felt how little he was regarded while he could not be useful,

ful, replied with a good deal of Smartness; and, from being an ignorant, blundering, scurrilous Author, he grew an honest, fair-dealing Wine-Merchant, in some Measure retrieving, by the one Trade, what he lost by the other.

This Understrapper, *M-----y*, however, began now to think of setting up for himself; accordingly he projected another Paper under the Name of *Common Sense*: He was assisted and encouraged in this by those that wrote *Fog's Journal*, and it soon gain'd a good many Readers: But, a Schism soon following betwixt the Author and Printer, it was divided into *Two Common Senses*, which were published by different Printers, and wrote by different Authors. This is another Proof of the Principles upon which these Gentlemen act, since nothing keeps them together but Interest; for they now abused one another, in print, with as great Inveteracy and Scurrility as they used to do the Authors on the other Side: But the Printer who opposed *M-----y* dying, his Paper, after languishing for some Time, died too, and *M-----y* remain'd Master of the Field.

This *M-----y* is a strong Instance of how little Importance, either Reputation, Learning, or Sincerity is, in being recommended to the Publick here. As to his Character, in private Life, I have heard that it is the worst; his Learning, if we are to judge by his Writing, is none; nor does he so much as pretend to it: And what Sincerity can you expect in a Man, who professes our Holy Religion, yet is once a Week employ'd as an Advocate for the Constitution of *Great Britain*. Yet this Fellow's Writings, tho' his Character is so detestable, and tho' his Person, to every Man in

England despicable, are read with so great Eagerness, as to convince you, on the other Side of the Water, that he speaks the Language of the People of *England*. He has now conducted that Paper about three Years, and in all that time there is not one single Letter in the Whole that has the Appearance of Reasoning. Scurrility and Defamation run thro' the whole, and they are wrought up with a Vein of Acrimony, which has some Humour, but no Wit; a great deal of Ill-nature, but very little Satyr; and sometimes makes one laugh, but never makes them think. After I came to *England*, I was surpris'd, that a Paper, which contain'd so little that can either be useful or entertaining, should be so much read. I immediately imagin'd, that there must have been some former Paper published, perhaps at its first Appearance in the World, that might have answered the Ends of a political Paper: On this Account I immediately bought the two first Volumes of the Letters, which were published in one Collection from *Common Sense*, and run them over; but I was surpris'd and confounded to find them all of one Strain, and not one of them carrying so much as the Appearance of one single Argument, either from Fact or Reasoning, to support the Cause the Author would seem to defend. It is true, some of them are wrote in a more lively Manner than others; but all are equally void of Reasoning. I was told, that the first Thing that brought it into Request, was the *Vision of the Golden Rump*; a most impudent Satire upon the K--- and the late Q---, not to mention the Ministry and the Court; and, as I have been inform'd, it was wrote by Dr. K---g of O---d,

O-----d, a noted *Jacobite*. Such was the *Introduction* of this *favourite Paper to the World*.

Now, tho' I wou'd be far from excluding all Humour from political Subjects; yet no Man can be so weak as to think, that a People of good Sense, such as the *English* are, will ever be laugh'd into an Opposition to the Government. No, Sir; we Foreigners are apt to mistake that Point most egregiously; we imagine, that, amongst the *English*, Laughing is a Sign of Approbation; and when we drop into one of their Coffee-houses, and hear every Body laughing, and hearing with Attention what is read from a humorous Paper, That every Man among them will be ready to support, with all his Interest, the Party on whose Side the Paper is undertaken. Nothing can be a more ridiculous Mistake than this. I have known many an honest *Englishman* laugh, and extremely fond to read a Paper, who, if he had been upon the Jury that was to try the Author, would have voted for his losing his Ears for his Impudence. I have known many a one admire the witty Sayings and smart Repartees of the leading Patriots in both Houses of P-----t, who would have opposed them, with all their Interest, in any Affair of Consequence to the Nation. Believe me, Sir, these Writings and Sayings have not the Effect that we may imagine. They do, indeed, open a great many Mouths against the Government; they are little to be regarded. The Men of interest and Wealth, in the Nation, are they who make least Noise; as they have a great deal to lose they are more cautious, and don't care to disoblige any Party by speaking too freely: And, for this Reason, all the Talk-

ers and Laughters are on the Side of the Opposition: But whenever it shall come to the Push, I am convinc'd it will be found that even the Weight of the Country Interest is on the Side of the Government. Therefore I would be sorry, if upon a Presumption, that the Government here wou'd not be supported by the natural Interest of the Country, we should make any Attempt to disturb the Peace of the Nation. We should certainly find ourselves vastly mistaken; for, upon the most strict Enquiry, I am convinced, that, except those who in P-----t have receiv'd personal Disappointments and Disobligations from the M-----y, scarce a Man of considerable Interest in the Nation would risk five Pounds with a View of distressing the Ministry. I hope you will pardon this Digression which proceeds only from my Zeal for his Majesty's Service. But to return to our Author of *Common Sense*.

Even the first Letters that are wrote with any tolerable Degree of Humour, are but very thin sown in this Paper; perhaps, once in two Months, one may light on such a Letter; but then all the Interval, betwixt that and the next tolerable one, shall be stuffed with idle Quotations from Common-Places, and old Pamphlets, and dull Poems. Nay, I am told, that, in the Summer-Time, when this Author goes down to take his Diversion with a certain Colonel of his own Country, who is married to a Lady of great Fortune, he leaves a Parcel of Poems, Pamphlets, &c. with the Printer, marked on the Margin, at the proper Places, as they are to be inserted at his Printer's Discretion.

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The *Gazetteer*, some Time ago, published certain Queries about his Religion, Life and Morals, that mortify'd him extreamly, and which he affected to despise, but never would answer. This Conduct opened the Eyes of the Publick a good Deal; and many, who thought him before no worse than a diverting Buffoon, began now to look upon him as an infamous Scoundrel: For what but the strongest Consciousness of Guilt could have prevented his answering a Charge that every honest Man would have look'd upon his Character as interested to have removed? Or, where was there an Occasion for shuffling, when it had been much easier to have pleaded *Guilty*, or *Not Guilty*? My Lord B---l---gb---ke, a much abler Writer, as well as a more eminent Man, thought fit, upon a like Charge, to give a positive explicate Answer; which, tho' it was not satisfactory to the Publick, yet prov'd, that his Lordship thought he could not, with Decency, avoid it. I have little more to trouble you with about this doughty Scribe of the Party, than to tell you, that it does not, from any of his Writings, appear that he had the least Tincture of Learning.

I just mentioned the *Craftsman*, but I don't know how it happened that he was but just mentioned, when I immediately lost Sight of him. From what I have said, however, it appears, that, at the Juncture in which he set out, many Circumstances concurred to make it favourable for the erecting a new Party-Paper. But who was to be the Conductor? there lay the Difficulty. Fortune, at last, very luckily, presented a fit Hand; one A---st had been so imprudent

prudent as to scatter his Wit against his Superiors at the University of *Oxford*, in a Speech in which Custom indulges the Students at certain Periods; for which Offence he was very deservedly expell'd the University. The first Thing he did, after he came to *London*, the common Resort of Want, Wickedness and Wit, was to apply to Sir G---ge Ox---n, then one of the L--ds of the T----ry, who introduced him to Sir R---t W---le, to whom he offered his Service as a Writer. Sir R---t, either thinking that his Situation did not, at that Time, require any Apologift for his Conduct, or having Reason to entertain but a mean Opinion of the Abilities of the offered Champion, receiv'd him but coldly; yet not so as to take from our young Politician all Hopes of Success. Accordingly he haunted Sir R---t's Levee, daily prompted his Patron to recommend him, and laid out any little Money he brought up from *Oxford* in making a decent Appearance. Sir R---t's Indulgence, however, not answering his Expectations, he applied to the other Party, who, just wanting such a Person, readily embraced his Offer, and constitute him the Midwife of their Labours; for at first he was no other: But, as it was necessary he should be firm to their Interests, a Subscription was set on Foot, by which they obliged themselves to indemnify the Author and Printer from all Charge of Prosecution, upon what should be inserted in the *Craftsman*, to the Value of three thousand Pounds. Such was the Footing this Paper set out upon, and such the Appearances of its Success. At first it was little taken Notice of, but
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in a short Time, some Papers appearing in it, which were wrote with more than ordinary Spirit, the Publick concluded, that it was the Production of the Heads of the Party, and began to read them with great Earnestness. This creating some Curiosity among the Ministry to know who was the Conductor of the Paper, and, being informed that *A---st* was, Sir *G---ge Ox---n*, his former Patron, resolved to talk with him upon certain Terms, which I cannot pretend to inform you about. *A---st* was then in *Kent*, and Sir *G---ge* went down thither to meet him. But *A---st*, hearing he was come, refused to speak with him any otherwise than over a Window that look'd into the Court-Yard of the House where he was. This Conduct proceeded from two Reasons; the first was, That the Profits of the Paper, which accrued to *A---st*, were greater than any Thing he could expect from the Government; therefore, as Money was his Business, he very wisely stuck to that Side which promised most. The other Reason was, the Treatment he imagined he had received from Sir *R---t*, which was very provoking to a Man just come from the University of *Oxford*, full of *Greek* and *Latin*, and fuller of himself than of either: Add to this, That he perhaps thought such an Appearance of Resolution might raise his Price, and that he knew, if he should enter into any Discourse about Terms, and if that was discovered, it might irrecoverably ruin him with one Party, before he was perfectly well with the other.

The most active Man then in the Opposition was *D---l P---y*, a Kinsman to *W---m P---y*, and

and his Superior in Knowledge, Learning, Knowledge of the Constitution, and Temper, tho' without his Fire and Vivacity. But what distinguished him most, was an unwearied Application to the Study of the Finances, which gave him a large Field for speaking and writing. The first Talent he exercised daily in the H--- of C---ns; the last, weekly, in the *Craftsman*. A certain Accuracy and Shew of Reasoning, easily distinguished his Papers from all others, he being, at that Time, the living Oracle of the Party, it is no Wonder if whatever was supposed to come from his Pen, was received as so many sacred Responses. It was principally owing to him that the *Craftsman* has made such a Figure in the Opposition; and his Death, which happened soon after this Paper was set on Foot, was an irretrievable Loss to the Party, who lost in him the clearest Head, as well as the best heard Speaker they could boast. Great Advantages were taken by his Friends, who wrote in the *Craftsman*, at certain Expressions that fell from the Pens of the Writers on the other Side, upon this Gentleman's Death, as if they had contained injurious and scandalous Reflections upon his Memory; I shall say nothing upon that Head, either to defend or condemn those Expressions, because that would be foreign to my present Purpose. I will only take upon me to inform you, from the Mouths of several Gentlemen who were intimate with him, and with whom I made it my Business to cultivate an Acquaintance, that the Consideration of the State of publick Affairs, and the personal Resentment he entertained at the M----y, exaspe-

exasperated him so much, that he would have readily join'd with any Measures that could have changed both, tho' they had been attended with Changes of higher Importance to the Nation; and that he had actually such a Scheme in his Head, tho' no Head in the Party was found capable to take it up, or to bring it to Perfection, when he was gone.

The next Hand who contributed to raise the *Craftsman* was my Lord B---l---gb---ke. I shall not pretend to give you any Character of this Nobleman, who has acted so very remarkable a Part both as a Minister, and Opposer of Ministers, because I know you are personally acquainted with him. It is sufficient for my present Purpose to inform you of the Notion that is entertain'd of him in this Country, the great Scene where all his Abilities have been display'd. In the first Place, every Body has a great Opinion of his Parts, yet I don't believe ten Men in the Kingdom would venture ten Shillings upon the Execution of any Project he could form: In the next Place the whole Nation has a very bad Opinion of his Heart; yet they who have the worst are aptest to be gain'd over by the Profession of his Sincerity. These Paradoxes are easily resolved. His Parts are look'd upon to be such, as may divide, disturb, and destroy; but no Body imagines, that he has the least Talent for uniting, settling, or healing. On this account, they, who are prepossess'd with a Notion of Abilities, know, that the more they are exerted and employ'd, they are the more dangerous and destructive; and whatever Use they may make of him to help them in gratifying their Harred a-

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gainst the Minister, yet they never will be persuaded to come into any Scheme of distressing him, if *B-----* is the Author of it, if they shall endanger either their Persons or Estates. On the other hand it is certain, that they, who know most of his Insincerity, are most apt to be his Dupes. These are all the Remains of the old Tories, who are not a few, and most of whom were deeply engaged in the Schemes that were set on Foot to bring in the *Chevalier de St. George*. These Gentlemen are they who have experienc'd most of this extraordinary Person's Treachery, and yet they are they who are most ready to excuse and believe him. Nay, it is certain, that many of those, who were most averse at his being restored to a Capacity of succeeding to his Father's Estate, are now his greatest Advocates.

The first regular Set of Letters he undertook in the *Craftsman*, was those upon the History of *England*, under the Name of Sir *John Old Castle*. In these Letters he endeavoured to fix all the odious Characters that were found in the worst Reigns, upon the Ministers of that under which he wrote. Where the whole Character wou'd not fit, he had an artful Way of piecing it with Parts of other Characters, and if that too fail'd, of inventing Characters that were not to be found in the History. By these Means, which he knew admirably well how to execute, he put the Writers for the Administration to an ungrateful Dilemma, either of overlooking these Characters entirely, or of giving him and the Party an Opportunity of triumphing, if they found Fault with the Application. For it was they,

they, who then apply'd the Writer designed no Picture or Resemblance of any Prince or Minister now alive ; all he intended, was, to give a simple Matter of Fact, as it stood upon the Face of the Histories of that Time. This was a mean but dangerous way of libelling an Administration ; it kept the Author without the Lash of the Law, and with the People had all the Effect that the very Names and Characters of the present Age, if drawn in that manner, could have had. But really, if we are to judge impartially, no great Art, farther than the Invention, was requir'd to execute this new Method of libelling ; and whoever considers the Variety of Characters that may be, and often is, united in one Man, there is but little Difficulty in picking as many bad Qualities out of the Characters of the best Ministers that are dead, and dressing these Qualities up in a certain Light, so as to make them resemble the worst Ministers that are alive : And, on the other Hand, nothing easier than to find good Qualities in the Characters of the worst Ministers of past Times, that, if properly handled, may resemble the Character, in some Particulars, of the best Minister of the present. The past and present History of *England* is fruitful of Characters of all Kinds. If *Walsingham* was frugal and laborious, he was, at the same Time, mean and deceitful ; therefore, when a living Patriot is to be praised from the Example of a dead Minister, touch upon the valuable Qualities of *Walsingham* that you want to be the distinguishing Character of your Patriot ; and run out into an Encomium upon the good Effect that those Virtues had in the State. On the other Hand, if a Minister is to be libelled,

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throw all the Ambition, Avarice and Pride of *Woolsey*, into one Group, and place them in the strongest Point of Light. But you are to take Care to draw a Vail over his Liberality, Spirit, and Application. Again, by a happy Management, you may find Vices in *Walsingham* sufficient to libel a Minister; and Virtue in *Woolsey* that may make a very good Subject for Encomiums upon a Patriot. But these Characters of the Dead are not confin'd to those of their own Country only; the Histories of *Spain, France, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden*, have been search'd into for Subjects of this Kind, tho' the most fruitful of all is the *History of Old Rome*. There you meet with a *Cataline*, who had entred into a Plot to burn the City, and assassinate the Senate. You'll say, what Parallel can be drawn betwixt *Cataline* and a *British* Minister? Sir R----t W----le, sure, has no Design to fire *London*, and murder the Parliament. No, but an ingenious Character-Monger will, when the literal Sense will not do, give it an Allegorical Term, and then they fit exactly: As, for Example, The rest of the Ministry and Members of Parliament, who are on the Side of the Court, are the Conspirators with *Cataline*, i. e. Sir R----t, to destroy the City of *London*, by *ruining Trade*, and to assassinate the Senate, i. e. to overthrow the Constitution. *Verres* is another Top Character that has stood them in great Stead; and *Sejanus* has been a perfect Mine of smart Things that have been said against wicked Ministers.

Another anti-ministerial Battery, erected by this noble Author, upon the Abuse of the Press, was, *The Dissertation upon Parties*. It is wrote with
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great Command of Language, and a vast deal of Spirit : The Arguments it *contains* are plausible ; and the Shew of Reason it carries is very specious. He attempts to prove, in *this Dissertation*, that all the Dangers which the Nation dreaded, before the Revolution, from the Prerogative, are now actually greater, from the Power which the Crown has acquir'd. Thus, according to his *Way of Reasoning*, *Great-Britain* is so far from being better'd by the Revolution, that it has left her in a worse State than she was in before. *The Dissertation*, indeed, affects to talk very favourably of the Revolution ; but it is plain to any Man who will consider the whole Stream of what he has advanced, That, according to the Principles he has laid down, *nothing* could have happen'd more destructive to the Liberty of *Great Britain* than the Revolution was ; unless the Crown had been, at that Time, reduc'd within the Limits of a Power more extensive than to that of a *Doge of Venice*. For the Crown has already given up the Power of protecting Ministers that are obnoxious to the Parliament : It has no Power to bind the Subject by any arbitrary Act of its own : It has no Power over the Liberty ; it has no Claim upon the Property of any Subject : It has no Power to repeal any Law that has been thought necessary for the Safety of the People : It has none to enact any that may be for their Destruction. It is by keeping within these Bounds, that a King of *England* is said to have all the Power he pleases to do Good, but is deprived of any to do Harm. To abridge the Prerogative farther, would be to strike at the Vitals of the *Constitution* ; and, in Effect, abolish Monarchy.

chy. But, may not the Power of bestowing Places and Pensions, especially upon Members of Parliament, be safely taken from the Crown? Yes, if these Gentlemen can prove where they can be so safely lodged. The Power of bestowing them, they have, I think, never denied to belong, by the *Nature of the Constitution*, to the Crown. All the Question then is, that the Crown shall not bestow them so as to lodge too great a Share of the Executive and Legislative Power in the same Person. But here it must be considered, that if the Crown never shall lodge them in Persons who will make a bad Use of their Power, there is then no Harm done: And if the Crown shall entertain any Views of striking at the Liberties of the Subject, by lodging them in wicked Hands, no Bill or Circumscription of its Power can prevent it, while the Power of disposing of them remains with the Crown. But here it may be objected, that the Harm may be prevented, by imposing Oaths upon every Man who is not a Member of Parliament, and yet enjoys a Post, that shall oblige him to declare, that he does not hold that Post, or any Part of its Revenue, in Trust for any Member of Parliament: And that an Oath likewise may be imposed upon every Member, obliging him to declare, *That he enjoys the Profits of no Place under the Crown; that he has no Pension from it in his own Person, nor has any One any for him in Trust.* This would be, indeed, an effectual Way, as it is the only One, to prevent the bad Consequence of too great Power in the Crown; were it not for the following Considerations.

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In the *first* Place, It is pretty certain, that no Form of Oaths have been yet invented, that has not been, by some subtle Wits, evaded. In the *second* Place, we can never imagine, that they, who would be guilty of a villanous Thing in publick Life, scruple to swallow as many Oaths as can be imposed upon them. From these plain Considerations, the Necessity of Oaths may appear sufficient to convince any Body, that they could never remove the Evil. But if Oaths were the proper Means of discovering Frauds of all Kinds, why are not the Oaths now in Being sufficient to prevent them? No Member of Parliament, if he believes he shall be damned for Perjury, can, with a safe Conscience, take a Bribe to betray his Country; nor can he give a Bribe to get himself returned. Thus it is plain, that this is an Evil, which, if it exists, is incurable by any of the Methods prescribed to remove it; nay, that these Methods may tend rather to encrease it. If the Power of bestowing Places and Pensions be taken from the Crown, there is, thereby, a considerable Alteration in the Constitution; nay, so considerable, that I believe it must very soon be total; since the Consequence must infallibly be, that the Crown shall be deprived of the executive Power: For one of these two Cases must happen; either the Crown shall have it in its Power to employ whom it pleases, or not; if the former, then the Minister is at Liberty to turn out whom he pleases, and to put in whom he pleases; and if so, the Power of bestowing the Emoluments, must necessarily remain with the Crown, unless we can suppose the Subjects so publick-

publick-spirited as to serve for nothing. If, on the other Hand, the Crown shall be divested of the Power to bestow Places, and consequently the Emoluments, then it is evidently deprived of the executive Power, and the Constitution is dissolved.

What I would observe from this is, That there runs through all the Writings of the Party, particularly my Lord *B-----ke*, one capital Mistake, which, like a wrong Principle in Mathematicks, widens the Absurdity of the Proposition in its Progress; and, by not being discovered in Time, is very apt to impose upon the Mind. This Mistake consists in supposing, that the Constitution was left imperfect at the Revolution, by not taking from the Crown the Power of disposing of the Posts and Revenues. This is the Sum of what they say on that Head; what Weight there is in it, you may see above: But it would go far to convince People, that a great deal was left imperfect at the Revolution, if they would point out where the Power of disposing of Posts and Pensions can be lodged with greater Security to the Privilege of the Subject, and with more Advantage to the Nation: For it is possible for the Subject to be betrayed, even by his own Representative; and the Sum of the Writings on that Side is founded on that Supposition. As to the Service of the Nation, there is nothing more certain, than that no National Service can be performed, if the Power of vesting Characters and Posts shall remain in any Number of Men, whose Powers are reversible of themselves. The States of *Holland*, and the Commonwealth of *Venice*, you will say, exert
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such a Power. But to this I answer, That, in both these Republicks, the Power of the Legislature is not vested by the People, as it is in *Britain*; and therefore no such Parallel can be brought. But I believe the Absurdity of this Reasoning is now so plain, that I need insist no longer on it.

Another general Maxim I would observe, with regard to the political Controversies in this Country, and which neither Party has thought fit to take almost any Notice of, is, That there is no absolute Power but may become arbitrary. Now, Sir, every Power that is independent, is, at the same Time, absolute. The two Houses of Parliament ought to be independent, and, with regard to the Resolutions which each take, within its own Doors, they are absolute. This absolute Power has indeed no Influence upon the Determination of the other two Branches of the Legislature; but still it may affect the Proceedings of both, so as to render them in a Manner quite useless. If the Commons, for Instance, were to refuse to pass a Bill that is expedient for the Security of the Government, that is an absolute Act of their Power; but if they should refuse to pass one that is expressly necessary to save the Nation from falling into Confusion, and the Succession from being altered, that would then be an arbitrary Act of their Power: And the same Thing may be said of the other two Branches of the Legislature. Thus, Sir, it is evident, that there is not a Branch of the Legislature that may not abuse its Power as much as an ambitious Minister may abuse his: And there is not one Argument advanced by the Party against the Power of the Crown, that would not hold stronger,

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were the Powers which the Crown possesses, to devolve upon one or both Houses of Parliament.

The next Doctrine preached up by my Lord *B---gh---ke* in the *Craftsman*, was the Coalition of Parties, by which Term he understood, that all the invidious National Distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Dissenter* and *Churchman*, &c. which had so long divided and distracted this Country, either had, or long before ought to have now sunk into those of Court and Country; the first of which ought to be look'd upon as a Faction and Confederacy against the other. Tho' this Doctrine has prevailed with a good many, to look upon the Court and Country as two Interests incompatible with one another; yet I am surpriz'd that there should be so great Force in mere Names and Words, as to impose upon his Party. These Distinctions, Sir, of *Whig* and *Tory*, &c. while they prevailed, were used by each Party to signify, in their Sense of the Word, the Country, and the Denomination under which the other Party went, the Court. Had you ask'd a *Tory* why he stood up for the Prerogative, he would have answered you, Because I think it is for the Good of my Country. Ask a *Whig*, why he struggled so hard for what he call'd *Liberty*, and to pull down *France*, and to keep out the *Pretender*? &c. he would have answered, Because, unless such and such Things are done, *my Country is endangered*. Ask the same Men over again separately, What their Opinion is of their Antagonists, each will tell you, that they want to betray their Country to those in Power, that is, in other Words, *The Court*. Ask Dissenters and Churchmen the same Question, they will give you the very same Answers, That they are for their Country, and others

thers against it. But it must be own'd, that since the Revolution, these Parties have undergone a Variety of Changes, and they have, at different Times, acted directly contrary to their profest Principles. Churchmen have been seen to cajole Dissenters, and the Dissenters have abandoned the Whigs. Tories and Old Whigs have run into one anothers Arms, and the Ministers, who have distinguished themselves by their Adherence to the *Protestant* Interest before the Accession, are now remarkable for their Opposition to the Ministers of those Princes whom they laboured to introduce to the Throne. But how can all these Circumstances affect the Question betwixt the present Administration and Opposition? All that can be said is, That the Court has been always the *Butt* of all Parties, who happen not to be agreeable to it. The Principles upon which the Revolution was brought about, supposes an Opposition to the Court; and the War that was entailed upon the Nation, in Consequence of it, threw a great Part of the National Property into the Hands of the Crown, as the Steward of the Publick. By these Means a great Number of Posts were created and supplied, as every succeeding Ministry differed from their Predecessors. Thus they who were *out* immediately oppos'd the Court, and the Ministry undergoing Variety of Changes for fifty Years, all who had lost their Posts, and never re-placed, whether they were Whigs or Tories, still continued, and still remain in their Opposition, their Principles still adhering faithfully to their Interests. Thus a Coalition was formed of all Parties who were out of the Ministry, and that Coalition is the same which has furnished so many fine Things to the *Craftsman*.
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Numerous were the occasional Pamphlets that have been published, besides all the regular Journals of the *Craftsman* and *Common Sense*, against the Ministry. Mr. L-----, a Gentleman about the P-----ce of W-----s, has been not a little active, both as a Writer of Pamphlets and Journals. Some Time ago he published a Pamphlet, entitled, *Considerations upon the State of Affairs at home and abroad*, which was filled with all the Common-place Arguments in Favour of a War with *Spain*, and which have been since fully answered by the Conduct of the Ministry. This Gentleman likewise is a great Patron of all the Patriot Poets, a Set of Men that do but very little Credit, either by their Lives or Writings, to the Party. Another Writer of Note on the same Side, is the E-----l of M---t, late L---d P---th, who wrote another Pamphlet, intitled, *The State of the Rise and Progress of the Differences with Spain*. This Pamphlet was filled with Remnants and Shreds of Speeches and Arguments that past upon the Subject of the Differences with *Spain* in the H---se of C---ns. About the Time that this Pamphlet appeared, another Paper started up, which was intitled, *The English-Man's Evening-Post*: Some of the Papers in it were wrote so much in the Spirit of the Speeches that were made in P-----t, that it was soon discover'd that they came from the same Hands that spoke them. My L---d *Polwarth* was immediately attack'd by the *Gazetteer* very sharply, and an Accident happened, at that Time, which gave the Party a great Opportunity to triumph. My L---d P---, being generally look'd upon by the Publick as the Author of the best wrote Papers in the Collection, he was personally attack'd by the *Gazetteer* ;

teer ; and, upon the Day, or a Day before this Attack was made, his Father happened to die. This immediately open'd the Mouths, and set to work the Pens of the Country-Party, who affected to resent it as a gross Injury offered to the dead Lord, and an unmanly Insult upon the Living, though nothing could be more accidental and unforeseen. But, to return to our Subject. It is certain, that some Letters have appeared in this Paper, that are wrote with uncommon Spirit, and a Knowledge of the Constitution, that has not, of late, appeared in Political Writings : But the Person who carries the Paper on, who is one G---e, a *Scotchman*, was not the Author of them : He is a Tool of the Party, and maintain'd by them, but has a good Share of Classcal Learning, and has succeeded well in some Poetical Essays.

The next Paper I am to take Notice of, is an *Evening-Post*, intituled *The Champion*. This Paper was, at first, published three Times a Week, in the Mornings ; but not being able to hold up its Head in that Form, it was changed into an *Evening Paper*, in which Shape it has had some Success, and gain'd over some of the lower Class of Readers. The Humour that appears in the Letters is of a peculiar Strain, and of that kind which takes exceedingly with the lower kind of Readers here ; and he seems to have laid in a good Stock of Abuse and Scurrility. The News are, in this Paper, disposed of in a peculiar Manner, which is mighty diverting to the Generality of his Readers ; tho' the *English-Man* has, of late, imitated him in that Particular : But there is very little Solidity appears thro' the whole ; and it is generally thought, that his flashy Wit must be soon exhausted. The Person who conducts this Paper chiefly,

chiefly, is one F---ng, Son to a General Officer of that Name, and Author of several Pieces that had some Success on the Stage : He is a strong Instance of Ingratitude to the Ministry, as he lies under the strongest Obligations to Sir R--t W---e, whom he now treats with a Strain of Insolence and Scurrility, superior to any other Paper ever went before, not excepting even the *Craftsman*, or *Common-Sense*. I have some Reasons to know particular Obligations he lies under to the Minister, who once generously reliev'd him, by sending him a considerable Supply of ready Money, when he was arrested in a Country-Town, some Distance from *London*, and must have rotted in Prison, had it not been for this Generosity in the Minister. Soon after, he libelled him personally in a Satyr, and next Week had the Impudence to appear at his *Lecture*. Upon Sir R---t's taxing him with his Ingratitude, and asking him why he had wrote so and so, he answered very readily, *That he wrote that he might eat*. However, Sir R---t still continued his Generosity to him, till he grew quite abandon'd to all Sense of Shame. He then set up for a Play-Writer, and push'd his natural Turn for Ridicule and Satyr so far, that, upon the Ministry getting into their Hands a Play, in Manuscript, wrote by him, it was thought proper to pass the Act by which the Stage was subjected to a Licencer, who was to grant a Licence for every Piece that should appear upon the Theatre. Sir R---t, one Day, while this Bill was debated in the House of C---s, pull'd this Play out of his Pocket, and read some Passages of it in the House, which disgusted the Members so much, that very little farther Opposition was made to the Bill : Even the strongest Opposers of it were ashamed that

that the Liberty of the Stage and Press should be prostituted to such vile Purposes, and so much infamous Scurrility; and some of the best Well-wishers to the Liberty of the Subject here, want to see the Press laid under some wholesome Regulations, as well as the Stage.

This Gentleman has an Assistant in his Paper, one *R---ph*, who has been sufficiently exposed in the *Dunciad*, and whose Name was very industriously conceal'd, lest the Character of a Person so famous for Dulness might do Harm to the Paper.

This last Person, who was, while a Writer for the Court, thought too contemptible even for Notice, and who was discarded, on Account of his Dulness and Immorality, from being suffered to write in the *Gazetteer*, is now the Assistant *Champion* of that Party, and thought a mighty smart Fellow. Thus, I think, I have said what may give you a tolerable Idea of the Writers upon the Country-Side of the Question, and am hopeful that you will no longer be imposed upon, by imagining that those Fellows either speak the Sense of the Nation, or indeed of the most sober among their own Party.

It now remains that I should touch a little upon the Writings on the other Side, which are very few. The *Gazetteer* is wrote chiefly by one Mr. *C-----le*, who would be thought a good Writer, did he not draw his Pen in favour of the *C-----t*. His moral Essays are wrote with great Candour and Good-nature, and discover a very honest Heart. Another Writer in this Paper is one *M-----y*, whose political Name is *Algernon Sidney*, as that of *C-----le* is *R. Freeman*. Several other Gentlemen occasionally appear in this Paper, which is under the Direction of one *W---ly*
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in *Grey's Inn*. But there is one thing very observable, that they very seldom enter into the Discussion of political Points in the same manner as they used to be handled in the end of the last and Beginning of this Reign. This manner was highly prejudicial to the national Interest, as it obliged the Writers for the Government to lay open the secret Motives of the Conduct of the Ministry, which was often attended with the worst Consequence; that of putting the Enemies of the Nation on their Guard. This Method is now turn'd entirely out of Doors, by the profound Secrecy with which all the Affairs of the Publick are conducted. So that when a Malecontent Writer attacks a Measure of the Ministry, the latter wisely avoid any *Eclaircissement*, even though it might clear up their own Conduct, because it is enough, if the Objections against it are answered by the Event. Hence it is, that in the *Gazetteer* we meet with very few or no Papers relating to Foreign Affairs, or undertaken in Defence of any particular Step of the Ministry. This is a very mortifying Conduct, as it deprives the other Party of a great many Opportunities of triumphing, which they had formerly.

Another Gentleman, who is a Clergyman at *H-----ney*, whose Name is *N---b*, is concern'd in the *Gazetteer*. He is Author of some very pretty Pieces of Poetry, and I am inform'd keeps a large Boarding-School in that Place. Of the two other Authors I have already mentioned, the former, *C-----le*, is Organist in *St. J-----s's Church*, and the other *M-----y*, a Lawyer of good Reputation.

I have nothing more to add, but that you will believe me to be,

With great Sincerity,

Yours, &c.

MARFORIO,



